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ABSTRACT

A study examined the concept of People's Education in South Africa from December 1985, when the call for People's Education was first made, to September 1987. Data were collected from the following sources: current periodicals; speeches, resolutions, and press statements; and interviews with selected individuals and representatives of organizations involved with People's Education. Special attention was paid to the following aspects of People's Education: origins of the movement of People's Education for people's power; key features of People's Education; People's Education and the schools (control over education; alternative curricula and the People's Education commissions; and the roles of teachers, national coordination, and national campaigns); People's Education beyond the schools (people's educations in the universities and in the community and the workplace); and People's Education in the future. The study established that People's Education arose out of South Africa's education crisis and attempts to address the problem of education in post-apartheid South Africa. The study further documented that, despite the severe limitations imposed on their activities, the individuals and organizations involved in People's Education have managed to develop solid and growing community support for People's Education that will enable it to transcend South Africa's present education crisis. (Contains 157 references.) (MN)

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PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

An Examination of the Concept

GLENDA KRUSS

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PEOPLE'S EDUCATION RESEARCH PROJECT:
No. 1

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This Report is part of an ongoing People's Education Research Project. To date the following materials have been produced:

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Working Document No. 3: *What is People's Education. Ideas for Workshops.*

All of the above can be obtained from:

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PEOPLE'S EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA:

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CONCEPT

Glenda Kruss
Centre for Adult and Continuing Education
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PREFACE

This research report sets out to examine the concept of People's Education in South Africa from December 1985, when the call for People's Education was first made, to September 1987. It is the result of a preliminary six month research project which set out to lay the basis for a long term study of international perspectives on People's Education.

The researcher experienced the difficulties associated with doing contemporary research in a charged political environment. Several of the potential interviewees were either in detention or 'on the run' because of their commitment to People's Education. The contemporary nature of the research focus also meant that the sources of relevant printed materials were limited and dispersed.

The study demonstrates that People's Education is concerned with more than responding to 'the education crisis'. In addition, it is attempting to address the problem of a future education system in a post-apartheid society. As adult educators we are excited by the challenges that People's Education offers. It is one of the first times in South Africa that 'lifelong education ' is on the agenda where education in the school is seen as only one aspect of necessary education provision. Adult Education at the workplace, in voluntary associations, in political movements, in the home, is seen as integral to the educational process both in the period of social transformation and in a future, post-apartheid society.

This study has confirmed that People's Education cannot be ignored. People's Education has aachieved what many previous investigations into education have not achieved; it has involved a wide range of grassroots people in the debates around the future of South African education. It is an ongoing process. As Ken Hartshorne is quoted as saying : "Both the debate on and the process leading to post-apartheid education are well underway; they are loaded with complexities, uncertainties and risks, because they are taking place in an unstable and unresolved vortex which changes from day to day, from place to place."

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of colleagues who played an important role in the process of the study : Professor Owen van den Berg who was very helpful in the setting up of the project, and Mr Brian O'Connell who assisted with the conceptualisation and ongoing discussion of the project. In addition, his critical reading of the draft of this report provided many invaluable suggestions. Thanks are also due to our colleagues at UWC and elsewhere who took time to read the draft paper and offered constructive criticisms.

Shirley Walters
Director

This research report sets out to examine the concept of People's Education in South Africa from December 1985, when the call for People's Education was first made, to September 1987. It is the result of a preliminary research project which set out to lay the basis for a long term study of international perspectives on People's Education.

RESEARCH PROGRAM AND LIMITATIONS

The initial phase of the research consisted of bibliographical surveys and the collection of materials. University libraries and academic journals were surveyed to find material on People's Education. A survey of what is becoming known as the "alternative press" proved fruitful. A survey of current journals such as the Financial Mail, Die Suid Afrikaan and Leadership revealed that the phenomenon is receiving widespread attention from many people outside of the educational arena.

The impetus of the call for People's Education came primarily from the Transvaal. Until April 1987, the Western Cape had no formal structures of the National Education Crisis Committee, the chief organisational vehicle for developing People's Education. It was thus decided at an early stage to undertake a research trip to Johannesburg. The primary aim was to collect statements, documents and other available material, as well as to meet individuals and organisations involved with People's Education.

The collection of documentary evidence, such as speeches, resolutions and press statements, was more successful. Interviews were limited, due to the fact that many key figures were in detention, or trying to avoid detention under security legislation.

What began as a community problem and concern has also come to be a legitimate academic concern. There is a growing interest in the phenomenon and implications of People's Education from academics and educationists nationally. Correspondence was entered into with a number of them, to facilitate the sharing of information and ideas on the topic. Consultation with journalists and educationists locally was also attempted. In this way, some material and work in progress was gathered. A positive spin off was the establishment of channels of communication for future educational research.

Working within a university environment also influenced the course of the project. Many students are interested in researching and understanding what is meant by People's Education. The demand for information led to the compilation of a collection of some of the most central documents and articles on People's Education.

The research encountered a number of problems and as a result has a number of limitations.

The study did not aim to undertake a large scale empirical investigation of the extent to which the stated aims and objectives of People's Education were being implemented in different regions since the first proposals in December 1985. However, it did aim to describe People's Education in preliminary terms and even this limited aim proved difficult.

Firstly, it was difficult to gather printed material. There is little original or source documentation published. People's Education being a very recent phenomenon in South Africa, the library sources did not provide substantial material. Personal contacts had to be built up to obtain material. There was some reluctance to circulate material. Community newspapers and organisational newsletters and publications were surveyed. Where possible, copies of speeches and pamphlets were gathered. The nature of the material meant that it was often not systematically collected and stored, and publication details are often not available. This highlighted the importance of gathering as much material as possible on People's Education and making it available to a wider audience.

Secondly, the researcher of contemporary issues often relies on in-depth interviews for information. As mentioned above, this proved to be extremely problematic. Many people who would have been key informants were not available due to detention under security legislation. A large proportion of the NECC executive have been in detention for extensive periods. Other leaders have gone into hiding, to avoid possible detention without trial.

Thirdly, and related to the previous problem, the current state of emergency does not provide a climate conducive to research on contemporary issues. Not only does the researcher face the problem of access to informants; but one can also be faced with direct hostility from the groups and individuals involved.

People's Education and its discussion or promotion in schools is surrounded by a web of restrictions under emergency regulations. Because of the threat to those who advocate and support People's Education, members of organisations and committees display great reluctance to take part in a research project, or to offer information as to the workings, strengths and weaknesses of People's Education. Doing research under a state of emergency places restrictions on the extent and depth of the findings.

Thus, the report has had to rely primarily on published sources, and the public pronouncements of supporters of People's Education; as well as the growing body of secondary literature.

The limitations have further shaped the nature of this research report. It was felt that a thorough, preliminary description of People's Education would be a useful contribution to the current debate and discussion. People's Education is extremely controversial. Much of the debate has focussed on the political aspects and implications. This report focuses to a greater extent on clarifying the educational aspects of People's Education.

In addition, a number of other educational activities and publications have developed alongside the research project. Like the present report, they aim to share 'work in progress' and make resources and material gathered during the research process more widely available.

Firstly, a compilation of documents, speeches, pamphlets and articles, "People's Education. A collection of articles from December 1985 to May 1987" has been distributed. This is available from CACE on request.

Secondly, material has been collected on Popular Education programmes in Latin American countries such as Brazil, Nicaragua and Cuba, in Southern African countries such as Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and on a number of experimental education projects. A bibliography of books and article on People's Education in international perspective will be available shortly. The material itself is housed in the CACE Resource Centre.

Thirdly, in order to encourage the ongoing exploration and development of People's Education we responded to a number of requests to run workshops on People's Education. We have organised workshops for student organisations, teachers and university academics. Based on this experience, we have written a workbook with suggestions and ideas, which aims to help others run similar workshops.

These booklets can be used in conjunction with and complement the present research report. It is hoped that the circulation of these 'works in progress' will provide a basis for future comparative study, as well as a basis for the ongoing development and implementation of People's Education.

INTRODUCTION

The current situation in South Africa has been analysed by scholars from a variety of perspectives and ideological frameworks.(1) It seems safe to conclude that all would agree on one factor - that there is a deep economic, political and social crisis, which is reflected in the education crisis.

Education in South Africa is a contested terrain between the state and those whom the education system is intended to serve. According to Mehl, "That there is an educational crisis in South Africa there is no doubt. But a crisis is variously defined as either a catastrophe or a tremendous opportunity".(2) The crisis in black education has been well documented; but currently, the predominant view amongst scholars is that it tends towards the catastrophic, rather than providing positive opportunities.(3) As one observer noted,

> "Education is taking place within an untidy maze of interactions that themselves are volatile and unpredictable and which differ radically from place to place, from situation to situation, often at the whim of State officials, the local security apparatus or youthful activists".(4)

The crisis has drawn the attention of a wide range of concerned parties, each of which are concerned to devise their own scenario and solution. The state's solution to the crisis is contained in its White Paper of 1983, committing itself to the eleven principles of the De Lange commission of 1981.(5) Local and international educationists have devoted many pages to analysing the crisis and state attempts to alleviate it.(6) The media have widely reported on the "black schools crisis" and have attempted to reflect the debate and growing polarisation. (7)

The private sector is increasingly becoming involved.(8) Recently a conference was held where delegates from the private sector, from the increasing number of private-sector funded black educational projects, and a wide range of educational institutions met to discuss "the role of the private sector in relation to the current crisis in our schools and universities".(9) Speakers argued that the struggle is partly over who has control over education:

> "The State is determined to maintain its hold on black education, employing the security forces to enforce this if necessary, while powerful forces in the black community are equally determined to wrest that control".(10)

The debate over the current state of education and the future educational needs of South Africa, then, has intensified in the 1980's. It is in this context that the concept of "People's Education" was developed and proposed. In one sense, "People's Education" is a response to the education crisis; and in another, it offers a scenario for education in a future post-apartheid South Africa.

However, within a short space of time, "People's Education" has become a concept surrounded by controversy and many unanswered questions. A vigorous debate has begun between educationists and politicians over the meaning and interpretation of the call for a "People's Education". A range of supportive and critical responses have appeared in academic journals, magazines, popular press, pamphlets, booklets and so on. Debate has centred on the extent to which "People's Education" can provide educational alternatives, both in the present and in a future South Africa.

Many supporters have argued that People's Education has no single, rigid definition. Adler has acknowledged that there are "problems in defining People's Education which are compounded by its present lack of form". (11) However, most would argue that People's Education is a process which could lay the foundations for a future education system, while transforming present educational institutions.(12) As Van den Bos has argued, "the slogan of People's Education for people's power defies precise definition, not because it is vague and lacking in direction, but because the notion has been intentionally kept open for debate." (13)

Critics have questioned this emphasis on process and the apparent lack of a systematic educational program. Critics, whether sympathetic or hostile to its aims, have argued that People's Education is a political mobilising strategy and not a serious contribution to theorising about education.(14) Kallaway has argued that there is a danger that People's Education will not move beyond "hollow rhetoric" unless there is a thorough re-examination of the relationship between education systems and social forces.(15) Adler points to

> "A dichotomy ... present in People's Education between those who see it as a vehicle for mobilisation and those who see it as a foundation for future education. These different aspects are blurred in the consciousness and activities of those in the field. This lack of definition can result in generations of students remaining without education other than that of a politically stimulating nature".(16)

However, he perceives "emerging a serious intention to operationalise what has been largely rhetoric and political mobilisation to date...." He would argue that this could form the basis of a creative, democratic educational dispensation.(17)

Some scholars have interpreted People's Education in a negative light. There is a concern that People's Education would only provide political propaganda or indoctrination and not education. They caution against replacing Christian National Education with "another ideologically based, bureaucratic and stultifying system".(18) They would argue that People's Education could easily become such a system.

Others argue that People's Education is part of the total onslaught on South African society. People's Education fosters and reinforces revolutionary activity.(19)

> "The setting up of training and awareness programmes is of utmost importance for revolutionary activities to succeed. The drive for the introduction of People's Education in schools, through which all young people would be reached, must be seen in this context".(20)

People's Education is thus seen as "an important aspect in revolutionary organisation"(21).

The range of debate over People's Education is thus wide, and it has become part of the debate over education in South Africa. By all accounts, People's Education has made a lasting impact on the South African education situation. It has received widespread support from black students, educational and political organisations. Educationists will have to engage with the ideas and programs raised by the concept. Whether it is criticised and rejected, or whether it is wholeheartedly adopted, fundamentally, it has to be taken seriously.

To do so, a thorough understanding of the educational aims and proposals of People's Education is necessary. This is not as straight forward a task as it seems. Because of its nature as a process, a People's Education blueprint or manual has not been neatly compiled. A useful contribution would be to outline what the major proponents mean by the concept "People's Education" and how the process has evolved thus far.

This report will therefore attempt to outline People's Education from the perspective of its initiators, its leaders and supporters. To do so, a number of questions must be raised. What are the origins of the call for People's Education? This will be examined in Section 1. What does People's Education aim to do ? What kind of education system does it propose ? A tentative set of principles will be outlined in Section 2, drawing on the SPCC and NECC conferences.

How are People's Education programs being implemented in the present ? Bearing in mind the emphasis by its proponents that People's Education is in dynamic process, it is important to begin to analyse this process. What are the main issues of debate ? What are the different trends and developments of People's Education by different groupings ? How are they shaped by events ? These questions will be addressed in Section 3.

A detailed presentation of the educational aims and programs of People's Education will enhance fruitful debate on the present and future of education in South Africa.

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SECTION 1.

THE ORIGINS OF "PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER"

The rise of People's Education is directly linked to the education crisis, which in turn is part of a broader socio-economic and political crisis in South Africa. The catalyst for the idea of developing a "People's Education" was the most recent manifestation of the ongoing education crisis, the 1984/1985 school boycotts.(22)

While this work does not attempt a detailed historical analysis of People's Education, an important question is "Why did People's Education arise in 1985/86 and not at other points of state-student struggles?" In this section, we will give some pointers in attempting to answer this question.

In the 1980's, the state has attempted to address the crisis through a reform/restructuring process. Central to this is the Human Sciences Research Council enquiry, popularly known as the De Lange commission into educational reform.(23) Through its education reforms, the state has expanded the education provision without substantially addressing student's educational and political aspirations. In so doing, it would seem that they have contributed to a further deepening rather than a resolution of the education crisis. (24)

Thus in 1984, boycotts began once again, primarily centred in Transvaal and Eastern Cape schools, initially in terms of education-based demands centred on the rejection of "Bantu Education". However, from the early 1980's the reform process had opened up the space for the rise of a number of student, community, youth, worker and women's organisations, both local and national. Students' struggles became linked with the demands and campaigns around daily issues in their communities. As Hyslop phrased it, "Student protests provided the detonator for an explosion of worker and community struggle which posed the dominant classes with their greatest ever challenge". (25)

Events in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984 "transformed school boycotts into a leading sector in a national political struggle". (26) The stayaway in November 1984 demonstrated parents and community support for students' demands. This process continued and intensified, spreading to other regions of the country. Boycotts, stayaways and protests spread throughout 1985 and 1986 in proportions alarming to the state. The state's response was the imposition of a partial state of emergency in July 1985. One of the effects of this was for the boycott to spread to the Western

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Cape, where students boycotted and campaigned in solidarity with fellow students, teachers and parents who had been detained, injured and killed.(27)

By the end of 1985, students had made many gains. The state no longer had control over many schools.(28) The legitimacy of "Bantu Education" and any further state education reforms had been severely damaged. Many students had developed a clear understanding that changes in education would have to be part of a total social transformation. They had played a central part in building organisation and united action to resist apartheid and the state's reform strategies.

However, state repression was intensifying. The major student organisation, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) had been banned, severely affecting national student co-ordination. Students had problems in gaining access to the schools, which made local co-ordination and organisation difficult.(29)

There was a widely held view that students were prepared to sacrifice their own education in the belief that it was more important to fight for the imminent collapse of apartheid. This attitude, described as "immediatism," was promoted through the media.(30) The boycott, intended as a strategy, was becoming entrenched as a principle rather than a tactic.(31) There were calls for 1986, the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprisings, to be named "The year of no schooling".(32)

It was in this context that the Soweto Parent's Crisis Committee (SPCC) was formed in October 1985. Their initial brief was to negotiate with the Department of Education and Training in an attempt to get them to meet some of the students demands. Following on initial successes in drawing in parents and teachers in Soweto, it was decided to call a national consultative conference, to devise a strategy to consolidate the gains made thus far and take forward the education struggle.(33)

One of the central issues would be to question the viability of a continued boycott. Throughout the country a range of organisations were debating a call for a return to school.(34) For example, in Cape Town in late 1985 a group of teachers recognised the importance of the school boycott, but argued for it to be terminated.

> "The political contribution of the student is to prepare her or himself through education for a useful role in society. The student cannot make this positive contribution by sacrificing education".(35)

Some students called for a consolidation of achievements thus far

> "We must start by recognizing that a particular phase of the struggle, the school boycott, has ended temporarily and a new one, the struggle to consolidate the victories in the school, must be started".(36)

The SPCC sent a delegation to Lusaka to consult the African National Congress, who affirmed the belief that it was essential for young people to continue their education, without giving up the struggle to end apartheid.(37)

Thus, by the end of 1985 some parents, teachers, educationists and students advocated the need to assess the prevailing situation and attempt to find a constructive strategy for meeting students' educational and political demands.

It was out of this context that the call for "People's Education for People's Power" was formulated, to embody the new direction and strategy. The organisational vehicle was the National Consultative Conference called by the SPCC in December 1985, and the subsequent formation of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) in March 1986.

The 1985 conference resolved on a conditional return to school to begin to use the schools as bases for People's Education. A series of demands were formulated.(38) The government was given a three month deadline to meet the demands at which point the strategy would again be reassessed and, if need be, the boycott would be resumed. More importantly, however, it was here that People's Education was first debated. A set of basic principles was outlined and adopted in the conference resolutions.

A National Crisis Committee was established to assist with local and regional implementation of the decisions of the conference. Local organisations from each school and community would be represented on Regional Crisis Committees which, in turn, would be represented on the national NECC structure. The NECC has played a pivotal role in the formulation and promotion of People's Education.

It is important to bear this context in mind when attempting to understand People's Education. Many of the central concerns arose out of a need to resolve the crisis particularly in the schools. But People's Education is also a deliberate attempt to move away from reactive protests around education to develop a counter-hegemonic education strategy, to contribute to laying a basis for a future, post-apartheid South Africa.

> "The NECC has moved away from what had become a rather barren exercise, the recapitulation of the failures of 'Bantu Education', to a consideration both of the alternatives now and the form and character of a longer-term post-apartheid education system".(39)

SECTION 2.

WHAT IS PEOPLE'S EDUCATION ?

One of the interesting features of People's Education is that it attempts to make explicit the links between education and political, economic and cultural reproduction. While students and educationists have been developing a strong critique of Apartheid Education, almost since its inception, there have been few concerted, well-formulated attempts to develop an alternative education system.(40) Students have proposed alternative programs, which have been implemented with varying degrees of success.(41)

> "For the first time since the ANC initiated alternative programmes on the 1950's, after the introduction of Bantu Education, resistance to education has developed beyond boycotts towards constructing community-based and community-devised alternatives"(42)

People's Education represents a shift, from reactive responses to a more serious questioning about the nature of education itself. Students, teachers and parents began to question what a different, alternative education system would be like. What would be its underlying principles? What would be its method and content? How would it be organised? How can it be implemented in the process of struggling towards the stated goal? These are among the questions that began to be raised at the SPCC conference. Fr. S Mkhatshwa concluded his keynote address by appealing to the conference to pay special attention to

> "The type of educational system which we want, especially in a South Africa which hopefully would be non-racial, democratic and united".(43)

Lulu Johnson called on students, parents and teachers to

> "learn to transform the existing stuctures with the long term goal of scrapping the entire education system and replacing it by another. At the moment, making use of apartheid structures to our favour becomes a burning question".(44)

Thus People's Education would aim to enable people to develop a viable educational alternative.

To understand the concept of People's Education as formulated and promoted by the NECC, it is essential to examine the resolutions of the two national conferences in December 1985 and March 1986. The outline of People's Education in the resolutions provides a set of guiding principles and commitments with which teachers, students and parents were urged to work towards "a new form of education for all sections of our people".(45)

1.REJECTION OF APARTHEID EDUCATION

People's Education as first formulated by the SPCC conference explicitly states the supporter's position in regard to the current political context. The original definition of People's Education began with a complete rejection of apartheid education ideology, structures, content and method. The system of apartheid education was interpreted as aiding oppression and entrenching the status quo.

Education is held to have a definite political purpose. The theoretical basis for this is drawn from educationists such as Freire.(46) To quote Mkhatshwa,

> "Education and other structures of society, whether economic, political or social structures as a whole, are completely intertwined and therefore it is almost ridiculous to wage a struggle for democratic education and ignore the forces that are at work in the society".(47)

Thus the assumption is that no education system is, or ever can be, neutral. In opposition to apartheid education, which has led to the current education crisis, the initiators of People's Education have made a clear choice for a different education system based on different political principles.

2. THE GOAL OF A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

One of the primary aims of People's Education is that it should "enable the oppressed to understand the evils of the apartheid system and prepare them for particip ion in a non-racial democratic system".(48) This is its major political purpose.

This purpose was spelled out in greater detail by Mkhatshwa. He began by stating that "the call is now for education for liberation, justice and freedom. It is a demand for full participation in all social structures".(49) He went on to analyse the current state of the country, because, as he argued, "education cannot be discussed in isolation from the rest of society".(50) He identified two basic social contradictions in South Africa - that between the interests of capital and labour and that between black and white. Their interrelation "secures the national oppression and class exploitation of the majority of South Africans".(51) From this he concluded that

> "the form of our struggle is national democratic, and the main content of it is the liberation of the African people - that is, the majority of South Africans denied their right of self-determination".(52)

People's Education is part of the struggle for a non-racial democratic society, in the same way as Christian National Education and "Bantu Education" are a part of the apartheid social system.

The resolutions therefore declared that People's Education should

> "equip and train all sectors of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to attain People's Power in order to establish a non-racial democratic South Africa".(53)

3. CONTROL AND EMPOWERMENT

The call for "People's Education for People's Power" is in essence a call for an education system which would enable people to have control over their own lives. The black people "have been denied their right to self-determination, to control their own country",(54) and People's Power would restore that right.

The call is also for control over the education system as part of empowering students a ' the community. The essential point is that students, parents, teachers and workers should have a voice in deciding what kind of education should be provided and how this should be done. Lulu Johnson phrased the crucial questions thus:

> "What resources have we got, who and how should these resources be distributed and who shall see to it that there is democracy when dealing with these questions?".(55)

A guiding principle of People's Education is that people "will take a degree of control of schools".(56) What this would mean in practice has subsequently been hotly debated.(57) Ideas initially ranged from taking complete control of schools, to exercising some control, to having certain periods devoted to People's Education. Mkhatshwa, for example, has drawn on historical examples to argue that alternative schools cannot realistically be provided, but that People's Education must develop alternative education programmes. These alternative education programmes should embody education of both a political and a general kind, if they are to prepare for the future.(58)

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4. THE VALUES INSTILLED - COLLECTIVITY AND CREATIVITY

According to the resolutions, People's Education will be education that

> "eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development and one that encourages collective input and active participation by all, as well as stimulating critical thinking and analysis".(59)

Apartheid education is interpreted as supporting both racial discrimination and capitalism. "Capitalist values" transmitted through this education are rejected in favour of "democratic values" such as the above. The resolutions thus proposed that People's Education would "promote the correct values of democracy, non-racialism, collective work and active participation".(60) These values are directly related to the broader goal of empowerment and control.

Mkhatshwa elaborated on what a "better" education system would be like

> "one which prepares people for total human liberation; one which helps people to be creative, to develop a critical mind, to help people to analyse; one that prepares people for full participation in all social, political or cultural spheres of society. Education based on values of consumerism or affluence, of military adventurism and aggression and on racism is certainly not our ideal type of education".(61)

The aim of stimulating critical thinking and analysis has subsequently received much attention. It is perceived as one of the key means of transforming existing structures. Thus there has been an emphasis not only on a new or alternative content for People's Education, but a stress on teaching methods which stimulate critical thought and analysis. The resolutions proposed that programes "must encourage critical and creative thinking and working methods".(62)

5. THE IMPORTANCE OF ORGANISATION

The resolutions called for an education that

> "allows students, parents, teachers and workers to be mobilised into appropriate organisational structures which enable them to enhance the struggle for People's Power in all forms".(63)

As Mkhatshwa outlined - "to achieve fundamental change, we need to be organised".(64) People's Education is at the same time a means of organising people and, in turn, its success depends on the organisation of students, teachers and parents which will enable them to take control over education.

Thus the conference resolved that all People's Education programs should "enhance the organisations of all sections of our people, wherever they may be".(65) In turn, "all student-teacher-parent and community based organisations must work vigorously and energetically to promote People's Education".(66)

The conference adopted a number of resolutions on the role of parents, teachers and students in resolving the education crisis through building People's Education.

The **students**' task was to focus on building strong organisation, particularly democratically elected Student Representative Councils, and to build links with parents, teachers and the community. In this way, students could begin the process of transforming society. The understanding is that the psychological and practical implications of working through a process of change is an important aspect of transforming society.

The return to school was thus a central tactic in reclaiming the schools and building organisation from a definite base. Regional and national co-ordination of student organisation was to be promoted. COSAS had played a particularly important role in this sphere until its banning and a vigorous campaign to unban COSAS was proposed. Students were also encouraged to co-ordinate campaigns to publicise their "legitimate, democratic demands" and to take "the struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa into every school and hence every home".(67) Every effort should be made to break down racial barriers.

The conference resolved that **teachers** have a very important role to play in dealing with the current education crisis. This goes beyond their role in developing new classroom practices based on the principles of People's Education.

Firstly, teachers should assist students with the formation of democratically elected SRC's. Secondly, they should work with the parents and community and help set up Parent-Teacher-Student Associations in all schools. Thirdly, teachers need to have their own education programs.

Mkhatshwa pointed out that

> "History teaches us that the lack of qualified (ie skilled and politicised) teachers and the absence of resources, have, in the end, stymied all alternatives. Teachers need to be prepared for alternative education and through alternative education, for the future".(68)

6. UNITED ACTION

The importance of united action by parents, teachers and students was stressed at the conference. There was a strong conclusion that in the past only parents and teachers, or students and teachers, had been involved in education struggles - to their detriment. As Lulu Johnson argued:

> "As students, we have come to realise that alone there is very little we can achieve in the face of such a monstrous regime. But with our parents in UDF, COSATU, Parents Committees, Women's Organisations, Civics and Teachers Organisations, we shall be able to pull things together and protect ourselves in the face of naked brutality".(69)

Thus, not only students and teachers were to be involved, but parents and the community in which the education institution is based. Through focusing on People's Education, students, teachers and parents could find a way out of the educational deadlock. The intention was that people should be beginning to think through and actively participate in creating a new education system.

The conference thus resolved that parents should not participate in statutory school committees. Instead, Parent-Teacher-Student Associations - PTSA's - should be formed at all schools, so that "parents, teachers and students can come to understand each others demands and problems".(70) The PTSA's of each school in an area would be expected to co-operate and work together to "develop the education struggle to higher levels".(71)

The conference constituted an ad-hoc committee, the National Education Crisis Committee, to liase and work with local and regional organisations to implement the decisions of the conference. It was composed of three members of the SPCC, and one regional representative from Natal, Orange Free State, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Border and Transvaal. It has played a pivotal role in all discussion, implementation and development of People's Education.

The conference recommendations were referred to the newly elected NECC committee for use as "a guideline to promote People's Education at all levels".(72)

7. BEYOND THE SCHOOLS

By stressing parental and community involvement in education, the idea was promoted that education is not solely an activity which takes place in schools but one which affects all people in all spheres of life. This was recognised in the resolutions which proclaim that People's Education aims to

> "eliminate illiteracy, ignorance and exploitation of any person by another and enables workers to resist exploitation and oppression at their workplace".(73)

People's Education is thus an attack on current notions of school and schooling and involves a new vision of the education enterprise. The alternative conception has been subsequently developed in various ways.(74)

The resolutions of the SPCC on People's Education provide a basis for action, a set of guiding principles. They can and have been interpreted in a variety of ways and have been shaped by subsequent conditions.

THE ELABORATION OF CONCEPTS

The SPCC resolutions, then, provide the most systematic and coherent formulation of the basic principles of People's Education. As a set of guiding principles, they can and have been interpreted in a variety of ways and have been shaped by subsequent conditions. Important elaboration and development of the ideas came out of the March 1986 NECC conference speeches, particularly in the keynote address of Zwelakhe Sisulu.

The months from December 1985 to March 1986 were uneven and tension filled.(75) The NECC conference in Durban was held amidst chaos, violence and bloodshed. Conference delegates were attacked by alleged Inkatha impis. As a result, the conference was held at a secret venue for a single, all-night session. The most pressing needs were to respond to escalating state repression and to the failure of the state to meet the conditions set down in December. People's Education as a concept and set of guidelines was firmly on the agenda.

The resolutions condemned Inkatha for attacks on the conference.(76) They condemned repressive actions such as dismissals of teachers, while urging teachers to unite into a democratic, national organisation. Students were called upon to support the proposed Mayday celebrations and to launch a national stayaway to mark June 16, which was declared to be National Youth Day. The call for the unbanning of COSAS was repeated and students were asked to "plan for national united action to give effect to this declaration".(77)

The conference repeated the belief that "lasting solutions to the fundamental problems of education" cannot be solved in isolation and requires the participation of "genuine leaders of the people".(78) Consequently, the conference adopted a resolution calling for the lifting of banning orders on organisations, meetings and people, the release of detainees nd political prisoners, charges in political trials to be withdrawn. The basic demand was "that apartheid be completely dismantled".(79)

Although the demands of the December conference had not yet been met and in many ways the situation had deteriorated, it was decided that students should return to school in the new term. A National Action Committee would be formed to implement the decisions of the conference.

Much of the thinking behind these resolutions is reflected in the keynote address of Zwelakhe Sisulu. He further fleshed out some of the central concepts of People's Education.

As a basic starting point, Sisulu reasserted the irrevocable link between education and politics.

> "Ever since 1976 the people have recognised that apartheid education can not be separated from apartheid in general. This conference once again asserts that the entire oppressed and democratic community is concerned with education, that we all see the necessity of ending gutter education and we all see that this is a political question affecting each and every one of us".(80)

His address represents a hard-nosed, sober assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of both the state and the anti-apartheid forces.

From Sisulu's address, it can be concluded that the move towards People's Education for People's Power represents an attempt to consolidate the gains made thus far by the people's organisations. He criticised undisciplined, individual action, and emphasized instead the importance of democratic organisation. For example,

> "when bands of youth set up so-called Kangaroo courts and give out punishments under the control of no-one with no democratic mandate from the community, this is not people's power".(81)

He argued a need for youth to be brought under the guidance and control of their parents and the community.

> "When disciplined, organised youth, together with other older people participate in the exercise of people's justice and the setting up of people's courts; when these structures are acting on a mandate from the community and are under the democratic control of the community, this is an example of people's power".(82)

As Sisulu explained it, People's Power proposes that people begin to exert control over their lives, in different ways, young and old, now, "despite being under racist rule".(83) The basis of people's power, then, is strong organisation, so that any decisions taken can be disciplined, democratic and express the will of the people involved.

The NECC is one initiative which organises people to use their collective strength, and through which students, parents and teachers have begun to take some control over education. The whole community should be involved in developing People's Education.

Sisulu called on delegates to be clear **what** they want in the place of "Bantu Education" and **how** they were going to achieve it. It seems that People's Education, at least initially, was easier to define in terms of what it is **not**, than in terms of what it **is**.

People's Education is a rejection of "Bantu Education" - but it is not a demand for the same education as whites which is "education for domination".(84) It is not an "alternative" education imposed from above; it is not found in private, commercially run schools which will only benefit the elite. It is "education that puts people in command of their lives", and to be acceptable, "every initiative must come from the people themselves and must advance the broad mass of students, not just a select few".(85)

This is a long term process, which can only be secured by total liberation, but which has already begun. The way to achieve and shape People's Education is by democratic SRC's, parents committees, committed and prepared teachers and campaigns such as the one to draw up an Education Charter, to articulate the type of education people want in a democratic South Africa.

Sisulu interpreted some of the gains made since the December 1985 conference, although small, as significant in advancing People's Education. For example, the organisation of teachers had developed since December. Sisulu echoed the SPCC belief that teachers were a key link in the PTSA alliance, and in the successful implementation of People's Education in the classroom itself. Statutory parents committees in many areas were falling away as PTSA's were formed and became involved in the running of the schools. The Regional Directors of Education and even the Department of Education and Training held meetings with NECC community-mandated representatives and committees.(86)

Thus, through the discussions of the NECC conference the move to develop and organise an alternative to Apartheid Education was deepened.

KEY FEATURES OF PEOPLE'S EDUCATION : A SUMMARY

To sum up the key features of People's Education as formulated at the two conferences, by March 1986:

1. Based on decades of education resistance, People's Education is a rejection of Apartheid Education, which is education for domination.

2. It has an underlying assumption that education and politics are linked and, consequently, that the struggle for an alternative education system can not be separated from the struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa.

3. "People's Education for People's Power" is thus at the same time an educational strategy and a political strategy. Through People's Education, people will be mobilised and organised towards the goal of a non-racial democratic South Africa; but at the same time through People's Education, people are beginning to develop a future education system.

4. Central to the success of People's Education is organisation of all sectors of the people, to take control of education and their lives. Students, teachers and parents need to build democratic organisation in their own sectors, as well as establish strong working alliances and mutual understanding.

5. People's Education as an education system must be controlled by and advance the interests of the mass of the people.

6. Arising out of the education crisis, People's Education initially addressed itself to formal, school-based education. People's Education is intended to educate and empower all, not only school students.

7. It must instil democratic values such as co-operative work and active participation - in opposition to current authoritarian and individualistic values dominant in schools.

8. It must stimulate creativity and critical thinking to equip students for the future.

9. Educational practices implementing the principles have to be developed, particularly by teachers.

10. People's Education is **in process** - it can only be fully achieved when apartheid is abolished. In the meantime, it will be shaped and developed according to these guidelines. It is thus constantly changing and dynamic.

SECTION 3.

PEOPLE'S EDUCATION IN PROCESS

If these represent the fundamental principles of People's Education, how have they subsequently been developed, and implemented? What problems have been encountered? It has been pointed out that People's Education is a very fluid concept, and as such, its meanings are open to contestation. What are the important debates among supporters of People's Education?

The difficulties in undertaking an empirical study of People's Education in each region of South Africa on a detailed level have been pointed to. Nevertheless, we may discern trends from the speeches and interviews with NECC leadership, pamphlets and publications. In this section, an attempt will be made to reflect the central issues of concern and debates within the ranks of proponents of People's Education. In addition, it will consider some of the ways in which the concepts of People's Education have been elaborated and developed.

PEOPLE'S EDUCATION AND THE SCHOOLS

The starting point must be that People's Education was initially conceived in response to the education crisis. One of its aims was to formulate an alternative formal, school-based education.
We need to examine key areas of discussion in relation to this aspect of People's Education.

1. CONTROL OVER EDUCATION

Since the SPCC conference, there has been debate over the extent of community control over the schools and, indeed, what is possible and feasible.

Lulu Johnson raised it as an issue which would need to be debated and decided. Mkhatshwa, drawing on historical precedent, argued that total control over schools was inadvisable - if this meant establishing alternative schools.

It seems that until the declaration of a state of emergency over the entire country in June 1986, there was a sense of optimism amongst the leadership of the NECC. This extended to the belief that the NECC could establish an alternative educational authority to the state education departments. To quote the national secretary, Ihron Rensburg

> "In demanding People's Education for People's Power in people's schools, we aim to shift the balance of educational power, beginning by establishing a people's authority alongside the existing state authority".(87)

It was believed that Crisis Education Commitees in each region, and the PTSA's, as they were formed, would lay the foundations for future education structures incorporating community involvement. It is important to note that this was in the context of parents and teachers having left statutory bodies in favour of these new structures. The success of such initiatives also varied across the country. In some areas people had already taken on local education responsibilities and were integrally involved in decisions affecting the running of schools.(88) A major motivation for parental involvement at this point was to overcome the disruption and problems in the schools. "Education itself must rest in our hands and boycotts will be a thing of the past".(89)

One of the key NECC figures to call for the schools to be handed over to the community was executive member, Vusi Khanyile.

> "Firstly, we believe that it is the basic right of every community to run its own schools. To decide who teaches where, who goes to which school, and what should be taught.
> Secondly, DET has shown in the last ten years that it is incapable of running the schools. In most parts of the country, there has been no normal schooling since 1984. We firmly believe that the communities and their organisations are far more capable of running the schools".(90)

While arguing that the state should continue funding education and providing the necessary infrastructure, Khanyile argued that the authoritarian structures, the content and the teaching methods employed in DET schools were widely rejected. It is thus that the NECC called on the state to hand over the control and management of the schools to the community. Khanyile stressed the need to be

> "prepared for that moment and have carefully researched and formulated alternatives that we can begin to introduce in schools where the DET's authority has collapsed".(91)

In this regard, throughout 1986 the NECC attempted negotiations with the Department of Education and Training. NECC leaders stressed that this was on the basis of a mandate following consultation with students, parents and teachers, as new issues and demands arose.(92)

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Negotiations could only take place if certain conditions were met, centring on the NECC's need to have a constant link to the people it represents.(93)

The central concern and issue for negotiation was to deal with the "deteriorating education situation with thousands of our children condemned by ministerial decree to roam township streets and face SADF caspirs".(93)

Zille has argued that

> "the NECC's demands could not have been more amenably framed in terms of the government's own declared policy... it pursues an own affairs' education policy quite compatible with the NECC's move towards increasing community control of the schools and content of education".(95)

The key difference is that proponents of People's Education stress that community control over education would be set in the broader context of a single,non-racial education system promoting democratic values.

The early optimism of NECC that they would be able to introduce People's Education in schools under community control has proved to be unfounded. Ken Hartshorne sees a triangular relationship between the NECC, the DET and other state departments. He has pinpointed the central issue.

> "As DET increasingly loses control of its urban schools, will it just close them or will it be forced to negotiate a new kind of local management (based on parent-teacher-pupil bodies) and a new agreed curriculum, accomodating to some extent the specifically educational aspects of People's Education?"(96)

He argued that this would depend on the strength of the NECC as a national negotiating body and on the strength of supportive elements in DET to withstand pressures from the state security apparatus. Under present conditions, he argued, the success of negotiations seemed remote. As Molobi lamented, "calls that the schools should be handed over to the communities have fallen on deaf ears".(97)

The DET have refused to negotiate with the NECC executive. A clear distinction was drawn. Educational issues, over which they had control, were being addressed, such as the supply of text books to schools. Political or security issues, such as the release of detainees or permission to hold consultation and report back meetings with the community, could not be dealt with by educational authorities. At one point DET argued that NECC was not a "legally recognised

representative body"(98) and thus had no legal position to negotiate. According to Frans Auerbach,

> "the government has absolutely no idea of the dimensions of the crisis...otherwise it would have seen the emergence of the NECC as the most positive development in recent education history and the only hope of negotiating a resolution to the ongoing crisis".(99)

Not only did DET refuse to negotiate with NECC to attempt to resolve the ongoing threat of a total breakdown in black education but, after mid-1986, the NECC itself began to be perceived as a threat. After the declaration of a state of emergency in June 1986, many of the NECC executive and members were detained.(100) Tough regulations concerning registration were introduced in schools.(101) In December/January extensive regulations were promulgated banning the promotion or discussion of People's Education on school premises.(102) Schools where 'normal schooling' was not taking place were closed down.(103) As one commentator observed, "the full force of the security apparatus has been brought to bear on buttressing the crumbling edifice of black education in the urban areas".(104)

The vision of the NECC as an alternative education authority to the DET, which would be able to co-ordinate community control of schools based on a People's Education system, has been altered by the balance of forces. The increasing sophistication of the state's repressive apparatus, in particular the development of the JMC security system, has forced a shift in the original conception.

This has implications for the emphasis and development of People's Education. Proponents of People's Education have subsequently tended to concentrate on developing more limited ways of changing education in the present and, through this, to lay the basis for a national education system in a post-apartheid South Africa.

One option - setting up community-based private schools to implement People's Education - is still open to debate. Mkhatshwa's warnings are pertinent here. Some of the major problems would be resources, bureaucratic red-tape, skilled teachers and funding. Initiatives of this sort would have to be locally based to succeed, as community control is the vital element.

There has been discussion of possible projects. For example, Adler has proposed a programme for the training of headmasters, administrators and teachers within a People's Education approach.(105) An Academy would be established which would have as its first function headmaster training. Importantly, candidates would have to be chosen and nominated by communities or

organisations. Part of the training programme would be spent establishing a base organisation, including a committee, for setting up a school.

> "This will facilitate personal credibility and the secure relationships essential for the stability of the school as an integrated, responsive institution of the community".(106)

Once the community has committed itself to setting up a school, and the headmaster has completed the training programme, funding for other staff would be raised. The Academy would then expand its functions to

> "embark on an interactive teacher training programme with the staff of the community schools, established by the new graduate headmasters and school committees".(107)

A triangular relationship would be set up between the Academy, the headmasters and the new teachers. A new curriculum would be developed with three broad categories. At the formal level, it would focus on learning skills, problem solving and an active approach. A professional dimension would aim to prepare students for a civic and career role. A community development role will encourage interpretation and analysis of current community needs.

The program, to succeed, would have to be based in the community. "It is underpinned by a democratic structure and the development of a curriculum reflecting both content and process".(108) What is important is that the project is held to be possible both in the present as an alternative project and in the future as part of state educational provision.

2. ALTERNATIVE CURRICULA - THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION COMMISSIONS

> "There is a growing realisation that i addition to the important issues of philosophy, goals, structures and control, there is no certainty that changes in government and political structures, even if they were democratic in nature, would necessarily lead...to the democratisation of education".(109)

Educators have begun to pay serious attention to democratic teaching approaches, in devising People's Education programs.

Soon after the March conference, the NECC established the People's Education Secretariat, under the leadership of Zwelakhe Sisulu. The secratariat was to set up offices in each region to gather information and contributions to be presented to a proposed national conference in June 1986.

Suggestions were to include alternative programs, courses and material to be used in schools. Apartheid Education would be reviewed and each subject would be considered "to identify what should be scrapped or replaced".(110) Each member of the Secratariat was to employ a full-time person to run a regional office in their area, to consult with a wide spectrum of people and organisations and to gather information.

These convenors and employees were not only teachers trained in formal educational terms. They were educationists - "a person concerned with and involved in the issues of the education struggle, because education is located within the broader society, not apart from it".(111)

The stress was, as Rensburg emphasized, that this

> "process will not be completed overnight and it will be constantly changing and dynamic. The next two months will give us the embryo, but real People's Education is a process rather than a rigid, written doctrine".(112)

The secratariat also set up **People's Education Commissions**. There is some difference of opinion as to the intended scope of the commissions. Some claim that they were intended to produce a new curriculum for all subjects. This was connected to the view discussed above, that control of schools should be handed over to the community. In that case, a new People's Education syllabus would be vital.

However, most, while they would see this as the ultimate goal, have set more limited tasks. People's History, English and Mathematics commissions have begun to work on developing material. Firstly, this is intended to help students and teachers to present the syllabus in a different way - that is, aimed at formal schooling. Secondly, programs to produce resources which will help students, community or parents groups to run their own "alternative" programs, outside of school boundaries, are being developed.(113)

People's Education in schools would be aimed at students of all races. An important stress is that it would not merely be political education or propaganda. Rather, it is an application of the principles of People's Education to the content of each subject, and importantly, the method by which it is taught. As Khanyile phrased it, "it is good solid education which will actually make students more creative, and able to think than their present education does".(114)

This seems to be the prevailing message, that the way to build People's Education is through developing new courses, material, workbooks and programs which implement its educational principles and values. The People's Education commissions have begun this task of elaborating the educational and pedagogic principles for an alternative education system.

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The **People's English Commission** is part of the attempt to generate educational alternatives towards the creation of a new society. People's Education practice begins from the realization that

> "the forms that the alternatives take are as important as their content, for the processes by which the new evolves are as much a challenge to dominant concepts as the substance of alternative education can be".(115)

Process is the intrinsic mode of People's Education. This has implications for the type of education system which is designed. The centrality of process raises questions such as the role and function of educators, their relationship to learners, the teaching procedures used, learner involvement in the production of materials, subject content and relation to the curriculum, methods of evaluation and systems of accreditation and so on. Underlying these questions are key educational debates which People's Education would propose to resolve in ways different to that of Apartheid Education.

Given the educational dilemmas and questions raised by viewing People's Education as process, how has the People's English Commission proceeded?

There has long been a criticism on the part of many students and teachers that setwork books are irrelevant to their experience, Eurocentric and inaccessible.(116) People's English does not merely propose to construct resources based upon setworks "more relevant to the experience and background of the learner".(117) At the heart of the proposals is a focus on the transformative function that English could play, its ability to empower students and teachers, and indeed the entire community, for it would not be solely school-based.

People's English intends to assist all learners to:

> "- understand the evils of apartheid and to think and speak in non-racial, non-sexist and non-elitist ways
> - determine their own destinies and to free themselves from oppression
> - play a creative role in the achievement of a non-racial democratic South Africa
> - use English effectively for their own purposes
> - express and consider the issues and questions of their time
> - transform themselves into full and active members of society
> - proceed with their studies"(118)

It is useful to examine in some detail the kinds of English education proposed on the basis of these new educational principles. In short, "a climate of critical and interpretive responsibility"(119) must be created in the teaching of English. This can be done through a number of ways.

Firstly, there is a strong concern to integrate the study of language and literature. This is intended both to overcome the classic dichotomy and, more importantly, because of the belief in the importance of learning processes. The dominant definition of what constitutes literature should be expanded to include popular culture, oral literature, texts from other subjects etc.(120) English would have to be integrated more closely with other subjects in the curriculum, which would mean a reconsideration of conventional boundaries between subjects.

Furthermore, there should be a range of methods of analysis and interpretation taught. Students should not only be taught normative language, but should be helped to become aware of the flexibilities and diversity of language. In short, the learners' critical resources must constantly be engaged, if the learning experience is to transform and empower. People's English should enable students to analyse the ideological significance of all language.

But not only critical and analytical skills should be encouraged. English lessons should also allow learners to experience production as process, for example, producing news-sheets, posters, booklets,etc. This is one dimension of the active learning experiences encouraged. Other active learning experiences are discussion, song, performance and demonstration.(121)

The purpose of such education is to enable pecple to "develop confidence in the formation of conclusions and opinions"(122). That is, to create enquiring students through English teaching. Learners will be enabled to use English effectively for their own purposes. These are some of the possibilites for a People's English which, according to Gardiner, illustrate the "degree to which debate has opened the way for new and fresh infusions of energy".(123)

The People's English commission's focus is to work with teachers, training them to overcome the handicaps of their own education and the limitations of the school situation. Commission members are aiming to run teacher workshops, generate materials and introduce People's Education in teacher training programs. In this, they are working closely with teacher organisations.

However, the understanding of People's Education as not merely school-based, but of a constant interchange with the community, also shapes the work of the commission. The proposals were drafted on the positions emerging from "the Freedom Charter, resolutions of the December 1985 and March 1986 Education Crisis Conferences, the Education Charter, and the priorities of community and worker movements".(124)

People's English for adults and workers is a priority. Increasingly, the commissions have adopted the position that much of the teaching of People's Education will go on outside of formal institutions. Thus when designing material, they will regard the existence of a teacher and facilities as an extra

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bonus. Materials will have to be suitable for being used in homes, churches and community organisations.

The **People's History Commission** has operated in a slightly different way to implement the same principles in relation to History. The commission was faced with the dilemma of aiming to provide material to supplement gaps in the official syllabus, or to provide a complete alternative history syllabus. It was thus decided to prepare a workbook which could be used for either purpose, focusing on the question, "what is history?".(125) In exploring the concept of history, it attempts to incorporate alternative content. It too has focused on teaching history in a different way - to build critical skills of speech, writing and reading into the syllabus.

The first workbook or pack was produced very quickly so that it could be used in schools from the beginning of 1987.(126) It presents various historical events as contested terrain and tries to show how there are different interpretations of an event. It encourages group work. Students are taught to look at the source of information and find their own evidence. Oral history is one tool used.

The principle of consultation is central to People's Education. It is difficult for commission members to operate as experts, in isolation. Thus, a working draft of the history workbook was compiled and plans were make to test the material on a systematic basis with a variety of student, teacher and community groups. Unfortunately this has proved difficult in practice, largely due to state harassment and the ban on People's Education in the schools. The commission have clearly stated that the history workbook is a working draft which must be used and then revised, in an ongoing process of consultation and negotiation.

The People's Education Commissions have not been without their critics. Kros has criticised the speed with which the History and English commisssions operated.(127) She quotes Prof. E Mphahlele who accused academics involved with People's Education of "intellectual dishonesty" for

> "promising to deliver alternative educational material, before they could possibly have reflected sufficiently on the philosophical basis of an alternative education system".(128)

Kros rather interprets the rush to produce material as a "well-intentioned frenzy to take advantage of the gap created by the State's momentary dithering at the end of 1986".(129) She argues that the subsequent state clampdown on People's Education at least allows the space for considered reflection on what democratic education might mean.

The History workbook has been criticised by some who argue that it is too open-ended.(130) They claim that the workbook demands too much from teachers who are not sufficiently equipped to use the material. There need to be programs to train teachers or co-ordinators to be able to direct learning

sessions with the history workbooks. Another problem raised is that the original commission had a strong academic component.(131) Future editions or new workbooks should aim to be compiled collaboratively. Student input is seen by some as particularly crucial in curriculum development processes.

A **People's Mathematics Commission** has also been operating to develop new mathematics criteria and syllabi; but unfortunately information on their activities and work to date is difficult to obtain.

The existence and work of the Commissions illustrates the extent to which the concepts of People's Education need to and are being debated, elaborated and worked through, in relation to existing education practices.

3. THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF TEACHERS

As will have become clear from the above discussion, teachers are targeted as a crucial force for the development of People's Education. As Curtis Nkondo phrased it, teachers are "the ones who will be able to effect changes in curriculum, syllabus and in textbooks", and they should therefore be able to "identify the ideology in the subjects and make students aware of sexism and elitism".(132) Others have argued that

> "teachers, not activists, will be most important in implementing People's Education. And we will have to rely particularly on teachers currently involved in democratic teachers organisations, as the most effective people to implement People's Education".(133)

However, it has become clear that teachers who wish to begin the process of the democratisation of education are faced by problems and limitations.

Hartshorne has pointed to the dilemma of teachers, at the same time members of the community and employees of the state.

> "Pressured and criticised from all sides, often for inadequacies for which they are not to blame, treated often by departments not as professionals but as instruments of policy, it is not surprising that in many areas the morale, confidence and self-image of teachers is at a low ebb".(134)

Many teachers are afraid to defy regulations for fear of losing their jobs. Teachers who do not toe the line are acted against, whether directly or in more subtle ways, such as transfers or failure to be re-employed.

Some teachers who would support People's Education find that their own training in Apartheid Education does not equip them to facilitate critical, dynamic learning. A Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU) member pointed out that

> "many teachers are often well-intentioned but feel threatened when their students make relevant demands on them.... We must think of ways of transforming teachers into agents for fundamental social change".(135)

The SPCC resolutions had called for special education and training programs for teachers in the community and on educationally based issues. WECTU argues that teachers should be given basic skills to produce materials which can be used in the classroom, and should be encouraged to share resources.

The key to all these problems, according to many People's Educators, lies in building "progressive teachers organisations". By this is meant organisations of teachers who support the basic demand for a non-racial democratic South Africa.

One of the progressive teachers' organisations which is part of the NECC is NEUSA - the National Education Union of South Africa. NEUSA was formed in 1980 and adopted the Freedom Charter as its guiding document. It was established as a non-racial teachers organisation, which put pressure on "the near-moribund teachers organisations "to deal with political, social and educational issues.(136)

As the current chairperson, Curtis Nkondo, phrased it, NEUSA supports People's Education which "must be the outcome of a collective effort and democratic proc ;s, arising from the struggle against apartheid and exploitation".(137) Their aim is to educate and organise teachers and expose the governments' education strategies. The NECC is seen as an important unifying force, a forum to begin to fashion a democratic system of education. NEUSA has established a Teachers Advice Bureau, as well as bringing teachers together to discuss and share material in subject workshops. Through continuing and expanding these projects, NEUSA members have been able to contribute to the development of People's Education.

The sphere of organising teachers has proved to be a complicated issue for the NECC. There has been controversy over the decision to form an alliance with the African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA). ATASA is regarded by many progressive teachers as conservative. It is regarded as

being primarily concerned with teachers' professional interests and not community interests. The NECC motivation for recognising ATASA reflects a tactical and carefully considered approach. It aims at drawing in a potentially very important and large constituency - some 54 000 teachers nationally. It would be divisive to alienate so many teachers who are involved daily with education. Rather, through a process of dialogue, ATASA members are being challenged to support the aims of People's Education and change their allegiances. As Rensburg phrased it,

> "the NECC does not believe teachers should be forced to align with any specific teachers organisation. But increasingly ATASA members are incurring the wrath of the people and they will have to move. We are waiting for democratic teachers organisations to come to the fore; there is space for them to organise and recruit from ATASA membership".(138)

Furthermore, ATASA and similar professional associations such as the Cape Teachers Professional Association - CTPA - are under pressure from within. Their own members are calling on the leadership to take up a firm political stand, more in line with community interests, rather than those of the Departments of Education.

This is evident in recent press statements and advertisements which have been placed by CTPA, addressing political issues and identifying the organisation more closely with progressive organisations.(139) ATASA has withdrawn from government bodies on which it serves, for example, the South African Council of Education and departmental committees. Relationships are complex and volatile, however. ATASA members are increasingly being harassed by the state, as realignments take place. For example, Mr H H Dlamlenze, for decades the ATASA Secretary-General, and member of the SPCC, was detained for some time.

NEUSA has called on teachers to resign from ATASA and join one of the "democratic teachers bodies". In some areas, students expressed anger at the inclusion of ATASA in NECC structures, and gave members ultimatums to resign and join NEUSA.(140) The problem is particularly acute in Natal where some ATASA members are also Inkatha members. But student pressure is increasingly taking the form of classroom demands for People's Education and teachers have been challenged to develop politically and professionally to meet the demands.

On this level, too, People's Education is in process - and there are conflicting interests and demands which will shape the outcome. The conflict emphasizes the importance of the call for teacher unity and national organisations of democratic teachers. The NECC leadership are hoping that a broad teachers federation will emerge to overcome the potential divide.

4. THE ROLE OF NATIONAL CO-ORDINATION AND CAMPAIGNS

The NECC is the national co-ordinating body for People's Education. Molobi has stressed that the NECC needs to remain keyed in to the students, parents and teachers that it represents at all times.(141) The Emergency has created problems for the NECC's ability to set up regional Crisis Education Committees, which would ensure national representation. Conditions in different regions varied and regional representative committees were set up gradually. For example in May 1986 a Transvaal regional conference was held; whereas the Western Cape Education Crisis Committee was launched in April 1987.(142) However, the Emergency regulations make it virtually impossible to gain a sound sense of the strength and extent of operations of the committees and their involvement in schools, teacher and student organisations and PTSA's.

People's Education was initially intended to be a concept broad enough to include all opposition groupings to work around the crisis in education. However, it has predominantly been developed and promoted by the NECC, which has entered into a particular set of alliances. The links with teachers'organisations have been outlined above. There is close co-operation with student organisations and their campaigns such as the Education Charter Campaign. In addition, the NECC has established working relationships with the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. How do affiliates of NECC implement and develop People's Education in campaigns and concrete programs?

The history of the **Education Charter Campaign** illustrates how People's Education arises out of and is directly linked with the education crisis and previous education struggles.

In 1981 the Azanian Students Organisation, (AZASO), initiated an Education Charter Campaign, to go out to students, teachers and parents, to listen to their demands for a new South African education system.(143) In 1982 it was decided that, to have maximum effect, the campaign should be seen as a long term process. One of the reasons for this is instructive :

> "Students gain a greater understanding from their own experience, enabling them to define more clearly their reasons for rejecting the present education system and to work out a constructive alternative. The Charter campaign, if pushed too quickly, could become a substitute for this valuable experience".(144)

The Campaign was taken up by AZASO, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), and the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). Regional committees were set up to collect the educational demands. The Education Charter idea was also taken up by NEUSA, who were working on a complementary charter, which would contribute towards understanding the demands of teachers for

educational change in South Africa.(145) The context for the campaigns was the De Lange proposals to 'reform' education. The campaigns would provide students' and teachers' alternatives to the changes proposed by the De Lange commission.

At the NECC conference, the campaign was discussed, and it became part of student's process of defining People's Education. The demands were to be collected in 1986, the charter drawn up and then popularised in 1987.(146) An extensive questionnaire was compiled for discussion in each area. In May 1986 it was announced that the Education Charter Campaign was to combine with the People's Education Secretariat, because those running the Charter campaign had skills crucial to the NECC campaign.(147)

In this way, the NECC advocates of People's Education have attempted to build and develop united initiatives. In late 1986, a campaign for **National United Action** was initiated by UDF, COSATU and NECC, aiming to expose the effects of the State of Emergency and "unite a cross-section of our people to stand up and show their abhorrence of apartheid".(148) The demands of the national campaign reflect the broad alliance.(149) Each organisation would devise a program of action in their specific field, in consultation with the others. Thus, for example, 6 October 1986 was declared as a day of National Students Solidarity. Each school was to work out how to implement People's Education and how to take part in the joint national campaign.(150)

This illustrates how People's Education is linked with the rejection of apartheid and the demand for a national, democratic South Africa. The NECC sees itself as primarily an educational organisation which will work together with political organisations sharing their goals. It is argued that the NECC is a specialised educational organisation of the people, the embryo for a future education system.(151)

PEOPLE'S EDUCATION BEYOND THE SCHOOLS

It has been argued that People's Education first arose as a response to the education crisis. The flashpoint of the crisis was secondary schools - and, consequently, much of the emphasis has tended to focus on schools and institutional education. However, People's Education is clearly not intended solely as an alternative to secondary education. Indeed, one cannot really separate a "school-based People's Education" from "People's Education beyond the schools". The distinction is only for the sake of convenience and clarity. Because, in terms of its fundamental conception, People's Education aims to develop a total education system for the future.

People's Education embodies a broad conception of education that includes children and adults, that is not confined to schools and conventional institutions, that includes all spheres of activity, and in short, encourages thinking about the interests of the whole of society.

It seems that particularly in the light of the many problems besetting the implementation of People's Education in the schools, the future cutting edge will be the development of non-formal People's Education programs. Attention has been given to the universities. Their role and contribution to the development of People's Education is currently being assessed and outlined. More significantly, increasingly the focus is on actively broadening the concept of People's Education to include workers and parents. Various projects and schemes are being devised to address some of the broader educational needs of South Africa. Some examples are literacy training projects, continuing education, non-formal programs and so on. It is in this area that there is scope for innovation and experimentation.

1. PEOPLE'S EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITIES

Supporters of People's Education have presented a challenge to universities to play a role in the process of transformation in South Africa. The basic call has been for universities to transform themselves from "Ivory Towers into People's Universities".(152) NECC leaders have entered the debate on Academic Freedom and the role of the university, which has been raging in South Africa since the 1950's.(153)

Taking up a perspective which has been growing over the last few years, NECC leaders have asserted that Academic Freedom has to relate to wider social freedom, and be an integral part of social life. "In

the light of present realities, we must ask, academic freedom for whom?"(154) Academic Freedom, it has been argued, can never exist in a vacuum. The reality in South Africa is that it

> "operates within the context of detention of lecturers, teachers, students and parents. It is connected with bannings of student leaders and organisation, the closing down of schools, the lack of facilities, inadequately trained teachers, the teaching of an inferior Bantu Education system and the lack of democratic structures within the very universities where one finds the outcry for so-called 'academic freedom'".(155)

This conception of Academic Freedom is directly related to the understanding of the academic boycott which is part of the international campaign to isolate South Africa culturally.(156) Advocates of People's Education recognize the need for international exchange and sharing of science and knowledge. However, they argue that it is unacceptable to disconnect that need from the basic needs of freedom and human dignity.(157) Thus when visitors come to South Africa, or academics wish to travel overseas, key questions relating to consultation and to the contribution of the academic to the national democratic struggle are raised, before exchange can be approved. At the same time it must be recognised that the challenge to the univerisities is based on the recognition of the importance and possible contribution of universities to the development of People's Education.

As Muller argued, People's Education needs all the resources of all the major universities to succeed.(158) Institutions have been called upon to reorder their priorities, on the basis of community needs, rather than minority needs. Academics have been challenged to rethink their traditional neutrality and scientific objectivity. For despite their cloak of neutrality, universities are believed to have served dominant political and economic interests, whether overtly or covertly.

Three main areas in which universities are being urged to change their practice have been outlined.
a) Accountability within the university and accountability to the community.

Khanyile has called on universities as institutions to examine their own existing structures of accountability, as well as to create new ones to enable consultation with the broader community and organisations.(159) This involves a recognition of the present accountabilities to dominant economic and political interests. The composition and orientation of university structures will need to change, particularly decision-making structures such as Council and Senate, to include hitherto excluded constituencies and organisations.

The principles of consultation and accountability are vital if the universities are to work with the communities. The call is for the universities to work with the community rather than for the community, in deciding on the content and quality of future education. Tokenism is rejected outright and there is a

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concern to assure proper checks and participation, to safeguard community interests. Universities need to find ways of institutionalising this community participation. There is a desire to break down academic elitism and condescension and the notion of experts. Proposed aid programs, new schemes and programs would thus be questioned as to their underlying political intention, the interests they serve, the controls they would impose and their commitment to fundamental social and political change.

b) Implementing People's Education in the Universities themselves.

It has been argued that universities need to evaluate their own courses, entrance requirements and general educational practice to turn themselves into centres of People's Education. This involves the development of academic leadership and a new kind of research capability, based on community consultation.

c) Support for developing People's Education in schools.

The universities are said to have an integral responsibility to become involved in the development of a new education system at school level.(160) Developing alternative course content and teaching methods requires academic and technical expertise. Individual academics have already involved themselves and their students in this, but for real effectiveness, an institutional response is needed - in every faculty, not merely Arts and Education.

Another important contribution which has been identified for the universities is that of teacher training and education. Hartshorne has pointed to the need to build relationships with teacher training colleges, to assist with staff development. In particular, black teacher training colleges need to be linked with change-oriented movements in education, given the rigid controls and constraints they face.(161)

Some universities have begun to respond to these challenges. At the University of the Witwatersrand, a group of academics undertook a study of community perceptions of academics and the university.(162) One of the results, following a process of consultation and negotiation, is the establishment of an Education Policy Unit. A key feature is that it provides for structured co-operation. The policy, staffing and funding will be determined on an equal basis.(163) Their activities encompass collecting and disseminating information and resources on education, as well as curriculum research and evaluation.(164) A similar unit has been established at the University of Natal, Durban.(165)

The new chancellor of the University of the Western Cape, Prof. J Gerwel, has committed his institution to develop in a direction fully compatible with People's Education.

> "There is therefore an internal imperative for this university to develop a critical alignment with the democratic movement as the dominant ideological orientation.... The integration of academic and intellectual life with and the development of it out of the reality of people's social experience and world is essential...."(166)

One of the outcomes of this commitment has been a People's Education Conference organised jointly by the Western Cape NECC and the Faculty of Education, which provided a forum for teachers to discuss the implementation of People's Education.

Many academics are seriously engaging with the ideas embodied in People's Education and attempting to apply it to their academic practice. Some are offering courses, essays and projects for students.(167) In Education Faculties in particular, academics have been challenged to re-assess some traditional theories and practices.(168)

> "In the faculties or schools of Education,...the time has come for us to consider... training 'Educators' - persons who would be equipped with the skills, expertise, knowledge and more importantly ATTITUDES to teach or educate or assist to learn for both children and adults".(169)

2. PEOPLE'S EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNITY AND THE WORKPLACE

One of the key features proposed for People's Education is "the achievement of a high level of education for everyone".(170) The SPCC resolutions began to spell this out; but it is only through the process of developing People's Education programs that the implications and potentialities have become clearer. There is a call to

> "dispel the myth that education is to be restricted to the classrooms or to the young people only. Parents and workers must have access to Peoples Education".(171)

Through this emphasis, traditional boundaries and conceptions of education are being extended. Attention is being paid to the education of many who have been excluded from the educational provisions in South Africa. This includes workers, women, and youth who have been unable to complete their schooling due to the socio-economic and political situation.

The SPCC resolutions called for an education that would enable workers to resist exploitation and oppression at their work place. This has been further developed. The argument is that People's

Education must bridge the existing gap between "theoretical knowledge and practical life".(172) Workers should not only be able to do their work, but be enabled to understand the **processes** of which they are part in the workplace. Thus the gap between mental and manual labour must be closed.

The call is for an emphasis on "worker education and the importance of production".(173) In June 1986, COSATU issued a statement explaining why workers could link up with the NECC and be part of the struggle for People's Education.

> "We in the working class must recognize the sacrifices of our children and we must advance the claims they have made for a proper system of education. Just our responsibility as parents means that we cannot stand back. The students themselves have called for our support and assistance as parents and as workers".(174)

The need for unity and recognition of the importance of the education struggle was stressed. A COSATU executive message in 1987 called on members to "give maximum support to the struggle for People's Education and the building of democratic SRC's and control over the schools".(175)

According to the COSATU statement, the problems with the South African education system are that it puts "forward only the ideas of capitalist educators and of racism", and that it "destroys ideas of democracy rather than building them".(176) In contrast, People's Education aims to involve the workers. Workers produce the wealth, and they should be involved in deciding how the wealth is distributed, particularly in terms of providing education resources.

Workers should also be involved in deciding what kind of education should be provided. The division of mental and manual labour has served to keep workers powerless.

> "Education is always presented to workers as a matter which is too difficult for them and which they must leave to experts. But in fact there is no reason why workers cannot play an important part in the planning of education in society and in controlling that education".(177)

Thus, People's Education aims to break down the divisions and enable workers to take 'mental decisions'. In particular, People's Education should enable workers to understand how machinery and technology work, so that they do not have to depend on 'experts' and 'skilled 'people.

Worker education projects take on a variety of forms.(178) For example, the South African Council for Higher Education, SACHED, has set up labour education projects. One such project in Natal teaches English skills.

> "Having discovered that education in schools was irrelevant to worker needs, SACHED organised a programme whereby workers are taught 'English at work' based on workers' everyday lives at work and home".(179)

However, most worker education projects are conducted within union structures themselves.

The COSATU call, then, is very clearly for workers to be involved in building People's Education and link with organisations such as NECC which are starting to build alternative education. The essential point is the understanding that "Education continues for adults both now and in the future".(180)

Literacy training is thus seen as an important aspect of People's Education, given the high rate of illiteracy in South Africa.(181) The resolutions called for an end to illiteracy and ignorance. Illiteracy prevents people from understanding the society in which they live. People's Education is intended to empower, to enable people to have control over their lives. Through literacy training, people can begin to break the "monopoly of knowledge and skills".(182)

Literacy projects are increasingly linking up with the call for People's Education. For example, in the Western Cape, the NECC has amongst its affiliates a literacy organisation.(183) In Natal, a literacy project is operating for women who have never been to school, in both the rural and urban areas. A facilitator trains co-ordinators who then teach women in existing groups formed in each area.

> "If there is no hall in the area, members of the groups offer their houses. There is no graduation or certification or set time, it is an on-going thing. It does not only involve literacy and it includes other women's needs".(184)

Existing programs and projects are also being analysed in terms of People's Education. For example, De Vries has examined People's Education aims and general mode of operation to determine whether it could be introduced into state adult night schools.(185) Adult Educators in particular have begun to question how People's Education relates to their work, and what contribution it can make.(186)

A number of projects are in process to experiment with People's Education principles. For example, the Centre for Adult Education in Natal have initiated a program for young people who have been excluded from school for political reasons. A three month programme has been designed by the participants, the university staff and the sponsors.(187) The Career Information Centre runs a program to work with youth organisations, assisting them to run education programs. People's Education material and other resources are shared through workshops. Another project is a three year program for Standard 7 pupils, based on issues that are outside the syllabus, devised in consultation with "what the standard 7 pupils think and believe their syllabus should include".(188)

Many educational institutions and organisations have been working for years, using principles and theoretical understandings of education similar to those embodied in People's Education, but in isolation. The rallying call of People's Education for People's Power, with the stress on organisation and unity, makes the difference. It draws diverse groups under one banner and strengthens their work through drawing it into a broad educational movement. The emphasis is increasingly on developing a future education system, which will provide education for all. The call for People's Education has thus led many educationists to reconceive their work and to question the boundaries of what constitutes education.

SECTION 4

PEOPLE'S EDUCATION IN THE FUTURE

This report aimed to outline how People's Education has been conceived and implemented, from the perspective of "People's Educators". It was felt to be important to inject such a perspective into the debate which has raged around its meanings, its contributions, its problems and its possibilites. A clear understanding can provide a basis for informed debate of the crucial educational issues raised.

It has been asserted that People's Education arose out of the education crisis; but equally, it is an attempt to address the problem of a future education system. Just as there has been extensive debate on the education crisis, so there has been a growing debate on future education needs, and in particular, on post-apartheid education.

> "Both the debate on, and the process leading to, post-apartheid education are well under way; they are loaded with complexities, uncertainties and risks, because they are taking place in an unstable and unresolved vortex, which changes from day to day, from place to place".(189)

It is in opening up and taking the debate forward that People's Education has made a sting contribution. Few discussions of a future education system occur without responding to the challenges raised by People's Education.(190) In many ways, the concepts of People's Education have set the terms for debate.

Hartshorne argues that People's Education has provided a unique opportunity

> "far more powerful, because of broad community involvement, than that lost at the time of the De Lange Report in 1980-83 - to debate the realities, the relevance, quality and style of education and to negotiate its future for all the people of this country". (191)

Ashley has posed a typical question raised,

> "Christian National education has failed. Liberal education has failed. Can People's Education help us to find a model for success?" (192)

He argues that it will "inevitably become part of a post-apartheid educational dispensation, as white control of the education system crumbles". However, he argues that there are a number of implications and problems of People's Education which would have to be addressed.

The vision of People's Education has led educationists to raise fundamental questions such as "What do people consider good education to be?"(193) How will alternative education work? What role do process and method play? Educationists have begun to project, on the basis of present realities and demands, possible post-apartheid education systems.(194) Such discussions inevitably raise questions about the nature of a future South Africa in political and economic terms.(195) Discussion has moved beyond the narrow confines of what exists, to elaborate, conceptualise and question educational principles, theories and systems.

People's Education has already made a more immediate impact. Organisations under the People's Education banner have a substantial list of achievements and credits to their name, despite the severe limitations imposed on their activities. There is evidence of solid community organisation and growing support. These are signs that People's Education is future-oriented and will be able to transcend the present education crisis.

To list some of the most well-known innovations over the past 20 months:

Building of organisation

* the launch of regional Education Crisis Committees and local campaigns they have initiated

* the launch of a national youth organisation, the South African Youth Congress, SAYCO, under stringent emergency regulations

* the establishment of a number of Parents-Teacher-Student- Associations

* the development of the national campaigns such as Education Charter Campaign, National United Action and Unlock the Jails of Apartheid

People's Education Curricula

* the History commission and workbook

* the English commission and its work with teachers

* the Mathematics commission

* debate stimulated in universities, schools and colleges on teaching processes

Teachers

* the co-operation with ATASA and its withdrawal from state education committees

* teacher workshops and conferences held under the auspices of for example, NEUSA, WECTU, DETU, UWC

* Teachers Advice Bureaus for the sharing of resources

Universities

* the establishment of an Education Policy Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand

* the establishment of a similar unit at theU niversity of Natal

* People's Education projects introduced in courses and assignments

* structural changes being debated in some universities to promote the democratisation of the institution

Local Initiatives

* continued organisation around school grievances

* action research projects to implement People's Education amongst women, youths, etc

* worker education projects

Thus, it is evident that People's Education is to be taken seriously, as a contribution to the current education crisis and, more importantly, to the future education system of South Africa.

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-the postponement of all examinations until March 1986
-the recognition of democratically elected SRC's
-the reinstatement of all dismissed, forcibly transferred or suspended teachers
-the release of all students and teachers in detention

b)General conditions
-the withdrawal of the SADF and SAP from townships and soldiers from schools
-the lifting of the state of emergency in all parts of the country.

39. Hartshorne, K op cit, p 69.

40. Hyslop has undertaken an interesting comparison of the 1955-6 school boycotts called by the African National Congress, which "embraced and attempt to establish an alternative education system, a venture which can be seen as a forerunner of present day calls for People's Education". Hyslop, J "Let us cry for our children:Lessons of the 1955-6 school boycotts",Transformation 4, 1987, p 3.

41. See for example "Alternative Programmes" Learning Roots, November 1986. For example, student publications from the 1980 school boycott provide ideas for discussion, alternative crossword puzzles, informative articles etc. See for example "Inter-School Manual" Western Cape 1980. See also Focus on Alternative Education, Sached, 1985 which examines various aspects of alternative education.

42. Hawarden, J "Apartheid Education 1986", International Federation of Free Teachers Unions, Conference on Education against Apartheid, Lusaka, 23-25 March 1987.

43. Mkhatshwa, S "Keynote Address", Report on National Consultative Conference on the Crisis in Education, Johannesburg, December 1985, p 14.

44. Johnson, L "Student's Struggles", Report on National Consultative Conference on the Crisis in Education, Johannesburg, December 1985, p 19.

45. Resolutions of the National Consultative Conference on the Crisis in Education, Johannesburg, December 1985.

46. see Mkhatshwa, S op cit.

47. Mkhatshwa, S op cit., p 10.

48. Resolutions, op cit.

49. Mkhatshwa, S op cit., p 5.

50. Mkhatshwa, S ibid.

51. Mkhatshwa, S op cit., p 7.

52. Mkhatshwa, S ibid.

53. Resolutions, op cit.

54. Mkhatshwa, S op cit., p 6.

55. Johnson, L op cit, p 19.

56. Johnson, L op cit., p 17 (own emphasis).

57. For a full discussion, see below

58. Mkhatshwa, S op cit.

59. Resolutions, op cit.

60. ibid.

61. Mkhatshwa, S op cit., p 11.

62. Resolutions, op cit.

63. ibid.

64. Mkhatshwa, S op cit.

65. Resolutions, op cit.

66. ibid.

67. Resolutions, op cit.

68. Mkhatshwa, S op cit., p 14.

69. Johnson, L op cit., p 19.

70. Resolutions, op cit.

71. ibid.

72. ibid.

73. ibid.

74. For a full discussion, see below, Section 3, People's Education in the Community and the Workplace.

75. See for example, Leatt, J "Education and Apartheid: A Decade of Resistance and Reform" unpublished paper, University of Cape Town, May 1987; also Campbell, J "No End in Sight to Schools Crisis" Work in Progress, 45, November/December 1986.

76. Resolutions of the National Consultative Conference on the Crisis in Education, Durban, March 1986.

77. Further to the proposal of June 16 as National Youth Day, see a pamphlet circulated by the Education Charter Campaign, March 1986. "This year we remember many youth (students included) of 1976 who sacrificed their lives fighting against apartheid. Since June 16, 1976 many more died for freedom. The youth of 1976 are workers of today. Let us start now preparing for June 16. Let us make the Ed CC our contribution to this year - the 10th anniversary of June 16!"

78. ibid.

79. ibid.

80. Sisulu, Z "People's Education for People's Power", Transformation, 1, 1986, p 96.

81. ibid., p 106.

82. ibid.

83. ibid., p 104.

84. Ibid., p 110.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid., p 109.

87. Obery, I "People's Education: Creating a Democratic Future", Work in Progress, 42, May 1986, p 8.

88. See for example the situation in Duncan Village in East London, Kruger, F "DET destroys Education in Duncan Village", Work in Progress, 45, Nov/Dec 1986.

89. Sunday Times, 14 Septembr 1986.

90. Learning Roots, November 1986.

91. Khanyile, V "Speech to ASP Conference", Pietermaritzburg, November 1986, p 6.

92. Campbell, J "The NECC: Doing Battle with the DET", Work in Progress, 45, November 1986.

93. The conditions for negotiation were :
1) Written permission for NECC to consult with students
2) A call for the release of members and students from detention
3) A guarantee that detained students and teachers, once released, would be able to participate in discussions and activity. Ibid., p 18.

94. Ibid.

95. Zille, H "People's Education: The Irony and the Tragedy", Sash, Vol 30,no 4, 1987, p 6.

96. Hartshorne, K "Post-Apartheid Education: A Concept in Process. Opportunities in the next five years", McGraw-Hill Seminar, 18 September 1986, p 27.

97. Molobi, E "South Africa : Education under Apartheid", Conference on United States Initiatives for the Education and Training of South Africans and Namibians, Michigan State University, 23 November 1986, p 4.

98. Zille, H op cit., p 6.

99. quoted in Zille, H ibid.

100. In October 1987, 5 executive members of the NECC are known to be in detention. These include Zwelakhe Sisulu, chairperson of the Peoples Education Secretariat, Ihron Rensburg, Eastern Cape Secretary-General, NECC chairperson Vusi Khanyile, Rev. M Tsele, Secretary and Mrs J Mabudafase. Fr Mkhatshwa spent an extended period in detention, surrounded by allegations of torture. (see for example Cape Times, 21/9/87). The Secretary-General of ATASA, H.H Dlamlenze, was also detained for a time.

101. In June, regulations were promulgated under Emergency regulations, requiring all students to re-register when schools were re-opened. All students would have to carry ID documents, schools would be fenced and security guards used, and in addition, any student could be barred from school without reasons being given. See also a student pamphlet in response "Schools - demanding Peoples Education", Western Cape 1986.

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102. see Zille, H "South Africa's President moves to suppress almost all forms of protest by black pupils"The Chronicle of Higher Education", 7 January 1987.

103. The figures for schools which were closed down are difficult to compile, partly because the situation is so volatile, and partly because the information is not freely available. However, for example, at the beginning of September 1986, 33 schools were closed down - 20 in Eastern Cape, 10 in Soweto and 3 on the East Rand. The DET has warned that "where educational unrest persists, schools will be closed", Kruger, F op cit., p 16.

104. Hartshorne, K op cit., p 64.

105. Adler, D op cit.

106. ibid., p 14.

107. ibid.

108. ibid., p 15.

109. Hartshorne, op cit., p 71-2.

110. Obery, I op cit., p 8.

111 ibid, p 9.

112. ibid, p 8.

113. See an interview with V Khanyile, Learning Roots, November 1986.

114. Learning Roots, November 1987.

115. Gardiner, M "Liberating Language. People's English for the Future", History Workshop,University of the Witwatersrand, February 1987, p 1.

116. See for example, Christie, P The Right to Learn, Chapter 5.

117. Gardiner, M op cit., p 6.

118. "Peoples English for People's Power" draft proposals of People's English Commission, December 1986.

119. Gardiner, M op cit, p 8.

120. Peoples English Commission, op cit.

121. Gardiner, M, op cit.

122. Ibid., p 8.

123. ibid., p 9.

124. People's English Commission, op cit. See an example of the type of work in Janks, H "Critical Linguistics and the teaching of language", Kenton-on-Jukskei conference, 1986.

125. Interview, member of the History Commission, April 1987. See NECC People's History Commission What is History ?, Skotaville, Johannesburg, 1987.

126. Interview, member of the History Commission, June 1987.

127. Kros, C "History for Democracy", Lengwitch. The Journal for Language across the Curriculum, Vol 4, no 1, March 1987.

128. Ibid., p 7.

129. Ibid., p 8.

130. Interview, member of the History Commission, April 1987.

131. Interview, member of the History Commission, April 1987.

132. Nkondo, C "Education can Change Society", SASPU National, Vol 7, no 3.

133. Obery, I op cit, p 11.

134. Hartshorne, K op cit., p 11.

135. Ekapa, April/May 1987.

136. NEWSA,February/March 1983.

137. SASPU National, Vol 7, no 2.

138. Obery, I op cit., p 10.

139. See for example, a call to "Release our Children" and the lifting of the State of Emergency,KPO-Fokus, July/August 1987; An advert was placed to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the death of Steve Biko,South, 17-23 September 1987; a similar advert was placed to commemorate the 4th anniversary of the formation of the UDF, South 20-26 August 1987. At the 1987 Conference, the president, Mr F. Sonn argued that the CTPA represents a group which forms part of the extra-parliamentary movement. "The CTPA should guard against placing such a high premium on its autonomy that it loses touch with the turbulence and struggles around it, or that it spurned the chance to co-operate with other groups" Pretoria News 18 June 1987. For an outline of their position, see also Jordaan, P "Cape Teachers Professional Association - Educational Challenges of the Eighties" unpublished paper, March 1986.

140. For example, in Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth. See Obery op cit., p 10.

141. Campbell, J op cit.

142. Cape Times, April 1987.

143. The Charter was aimed at:
-listing student demands throughout the country
-uniting students
-strengthening student organisation at universities and schools
-educating the community and students about South Africa's unjust educational system and the type of education the majority of students want
-providing a widely accepted set of demands against which students could compare the changes makde by the goverment in the education system.

144. Ibid.

145. Ibid.

146 A pamphlet circulated at the conference stated that the call for a people's education "is perfectly in line with the aims of the Ed. CC. It is hoped that all parents crisis committees will work with the Ed CC committee on this question". The Questionnaire asked questions such as "What do you understand as the main aim of education in a free society?" March 1987.

147. Obery, I op cit. A recent pamphlet of the Education Charter Campaign reasserted the links "The Ed CC concerns itself with the principles that will guide People's Education, whilst the People's Education programme concerns itself with its practical implementation" Cape Town, 25 August 1987.

148. Campbell, J op cit., p 19.

149. The demands of the national campaign reflect the broad alliance:
-the opening of all schools closed by DET
-the establishment of People's Education in schools
-the end of the state of emergency
-the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners
-the unbanning of peoples organisations
-the right to free political activity
-freedom of expression and association
- a living wage for all workers
-jobs for all
-an end to unemployment
-adequate social security
-the right to strike
-the halting of evictions

150. "6 October: National Students' Solidarity", pamphlet,October 1986, Cape Town.

151. Obery, I op cit.

152. George, M "It's false to follow the Oxford model",Frontline,March 1987, p 28.

153. The liberal universities, particularly the University of Cape Town, Witwatersrand and Natal, have held annual Academic Freedom lectures since the 1959 Extension of the Universities Act. The debate on Academic freedom has thus been raised at least annually. It has intensified over the last few years particularly with the implementation of an international academic boycott. For some interesting recent contributions to the debate, see Nolan, A Academic Freedom: A service to the people, University of Cape Town 1986; Simkins, C "Academic Freedom and the Future of South Africa" Argus 17 October 1986; Morris, M "Choose Sides and Organise" Work in Progress, 46, February 1987; "Academic Freedom, Boycotts and O'Brien" Special issue of Forum, 29 March 1987.

154. Molobi, E "The University as White Elephant", Frontline, March 1987, p 27.

155. Molobi, E "South Africa - Education under Apartheid", p 10.

156. For a comprehensive overview of recent press reports on the academic boycott, see "The Academic Boycott", SA Pressclips Supplement, November 1986.

157. See for example, Molobi, E "South Africa - Education under Apartheid".